1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

Sometimes, before the masked dancers go out to the fire, people come for help to the place where they are being painted. They come of their own accord. I never liked to work at this, but I couldn't say "No." When you're all dressed up and someone comes, and the old man tells you to help them, you have to do it. You can't say "No." It wouldn't be right. 535 755

The general rule is, according to the way some shamans do it, that the leading dancer blows the disease away. I've done it myself. The others dance behind the leader as he approaches the sick one from the directions, but they don't touch the sick person. It seems that the shamans feel it will be better and quicker if the leader does it instead of all the dancers. Some dancers are beginners. They might mix things up. But some shamans require all the masked dancers to work on the sick one and blow the disease away. This takes longer. 535 755 756

It takes about fifteen or twenty minutes for one man to go through it. While we are dancing, the shaman smokes, prays, and sings. He makes a regular little ceremony. If the patient does not get better that night, he comes back the next night.

Not all the curing occurs at the place of preparation. Sometimes arrangements are made by sick persons or their relatives for the services of the masked dancers at one of the camps below.[10] 535 755

If we were down by the fire and someone was sick, we'd cure him with this song [a masked-dancer song used for curing or for the painting of the dancers] off to the side of the grounds.

First the sick person or a relative would have to request the ceremony from the leader of the masked dancers. He has to throw pollen to the directions, put pollen over the masked dancer's right foot, and come up and around his body to the left foot with it. If it is a woman who is sick, she puts a piece of abalone on his foot. It is tied to a string and has an eagle feather with it. A man puts a piece of turquoise with an eagle feather there. The shaman doesn't take this and keep it; the masked-dancer leader keeps it. I had a whole bunch of them. Some other shamans, like T., take it themselves. But that was not the way of the one for whom I danced. [788] [756]

This stone and feather can be used back. If I sympathize with someone who is sick, I give it to him, providing he uses it to ask the man for whom I dance. I give it to him and tell him how to use it.

When all the ceremonies for which requests have been made are concluded, the masked dancers make their way to the dance 881 535

[10] In the summer of 1931, at a girl's puberty rite, I witnessed such a ceremony performed over a youth who was becoming increasingly deaf. The rite took place at the edge of the dance clearing, just to the south of the central fire, before the impersonators began to dance for the people. [114]

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
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241 184 177 [433] [243] [462] [262] Another account from an Eastern band member adds to the picture:

We lived by hunting, fishing, and gathering plants. But we planted corn in May, too, with Mexican hoes that were traded up. The people kept camp near their farms then, tending the corn, watering it, and weeding it. Men and women both did the planting and other work. If the man was busy or off hunting, the woman would do it herself. Corn is a favorite food, because it can be used in a good many ways.

The Chiricahua picked up the trait [of planting] long ago in Mexico. Only some of the families planted corn, but they could share their crop with their neighbors. Only about six or seven families out of the hundred in a big encampment[11] might plant corn, and each family would do it on separate land. Others would help in the work on one of these plots, and then the owner would share the crop with them. The seeds came from the Mexicans, and many didn't plant partly because they didn't have seeds.

[162] [621] [476]

[244] We also got beans, chili, squash, and watermelons from the Mexicans, and the Chiricahua learned to plant these. The Chiricahua never specialized on plants—each person who grew any, grew them all in his space. Some of the planted areas were as large as thirty acres, but there were no lines between; everything was free.

If some didn't want to plant, they could hunt. Then they would give their neighbors meat, and the farmer who had a great deal allowed anyone to take what he wanted. There wasn't any buying of things.

243 A more detailed description of the manner in which corn was planted by the Eastern Chiricahua is the following:

The corn is soaked all night. Then two or three kernels are dropped in a hole. They say the soaking makes it grow faster. Some plant the corn kernels deep. This is when they are not soaked. When you soak them, you don't bury them so deep. Beans and pumpkin and watermelon seeds are soaked first too.

241 [771] [773] [824] Agriculture never became so important that its symbols were richly represented in religion or mythology. Occasionally, it is advised that the corncob be put back in the husk to insure an abundant future crop, undoubtedly an extension of the custom of replacing the unused part of a medicinal plant. There is an

[825] [782] association of the katydid with crop-raising: "The katydid is an insect the Chiricahua will not kill. We say it helps the crops grow. We pray to it to help the crops grow." In discussing the

[11] It is doubtful that encampments of one hundred families ever existed in pre-reservation days. The informant's estimates of population and of the size of farms seem excessive in this statement.

[114]

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

285 314 [824] can carry a water jar the same day it is finished. When the pitch has cracked and the jar leaks, she repairs it by putting hot stones in it. Then it comes together again. We use oak leaves or good clean grass to cover the opening. The oak leaves give a good taste to the water if they are used as a cover, we think.

323 *Pottery and household utensils.*—I have not been able to find a single existing example of the ceramics of these people. But women did mold pots at one time. The methods employed by his relative are reported by one informant:

> My aunt used to make clay pots. She got red clay, a sticky kind, and ground it between two rocks, ground it fine. She had water at her side and kept putting her hand in to make the clay sticky. She worked the clay. She said she had to grind the clay fine or it would break.
>
> First she made the bottom. She made a ball and pressed it down flat. Then she'd take a pinch of it and roll it out to a long piece and put her hand in the water to make it smooth. She built it up by putting these pieces on, bringing them around the way the sun goes. She rested the pot she was making right by her side on the ground. She smoothed it as she built it, sometimes with her hand dipped in water and sometimes with a flat paddle that she dipped in water. Sometimes she rested the pot she was making right in her lap, sometimes on the ground by her side. Sometimes she made big ones, sometimes little ones.
>
> Then she broke open the little round cactus that grows in clusters [nipple cactus] and rubbed a piece of it on the outside and the inside of the pot. This is sticky. Then she put the pot out in the sun to dry. If the sun was out, it would dry enough to handle and be put in the fire in two or three hours.
>
> Then she built a fire. She used any wood and let it burn down to ashes. Then she put the pot in and kept turning it. She would strike it to see if it was done. She turned it so it got done evenly. The pots were dark brown when they were finished, but some clays made them lighter.
>
> Sometimes she made several at once, of different sizes. She never painted or designed them. Not many women made them. In the big group in which I lived my aunt and two others made them. These women who made pots allowed men to watch while they worked.[13] They never ground up the old pots and put the old material with the new. I saw these women make olla-shaped pots, low bowl-shaped ones, and some that were like a pitcher. My aunt never painted or designed any of them.

Another account adds some interesting details:

[462] Women were the pottery-makers. They went to a place where the animals would come to lick the salt and took clay from there. They rolled this clay with their hands into a long rope and wound this up, coiling it around and around in

[13] This was denied by another informant, who said that men could not be present when women were working on the parfleche or the pot.

[114]

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934)1936
NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
CHIRICAHUA
MESCALERO

INTRODUCTION TO MESCALERO AND CHIRICAHUA APACHE CULTURES[1]

Well over one hundred plants used by Mescalero and Chiricahua Apache Indians for food, drink, and narcotics are listed and discussed in the pages which follow this introduction. These two tribes can be treated together in such context because of the close correspondences between them in most aspects of material and non-material culture, because they inhabited contiguous areas in the same general ecological region, and because the plants of the region utilized by them and the methods of preparation were remarkably alike for both peoples.

Little guess-work or uncertainty has been permitted in the material here presented. Trips were made into the field with Apache informants who found and gathered specimens of the plants formerly used by their people, and at this time the account of manner of utilization was recorded. The specimens were pressed, mounted, and later identified.

The list of names to be found at the back of this bulletin is by no means a complete inventory of the plants used by these Apache for the purposes we are considering. The work was conducted during a drought period and specimens of a number of plants were not obtained. Again, because of immaturity, or for some other reason, certain plants were never positively identified and the data pertaining to them have been excluded. Then too, the present Mescalero Apache

1. The first section of this bulletin (with the exception of the unit on geographical setting) has been prepared by Dr. M. E. Opler and the second section by Dr. E. F. Castetter. Unless otherwise noted, the facts concerning the preparation and use of plants by the Chiricahua and Mescalero Apache have been gathered during the years 1931-34 in the course of ethnological field-work made possible by the University of Chicago, Columbia University, the Southwest Society, the National Research Council, Social Science Research Council, and the Laboratory of Anthropology of Santa Fe. The authors are very much indebted to Professor A. L. Hershey, of New Mexico State College, who identified a number of the plant specimens; to Dr. Kirk Bryan, of Harvard University, for suggestions bearing on the geographical setting of these Apache; and to Dr. Harry Hoijer, of the University of Chicago, for his aid in the translation of Apache plant names. Thanks are due to many Apache informants, and especially to Charles Smith and Sarah Kenel for assistance in the collection of the plants.

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934)1936
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CHIRICAHUA
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Then too, the present Mescalero Apache Reservation upon which both of these tribes are now housed is but a fraction of the former range of these natives. Since it was not practicable to traverse this large area with informants, many plants which they had described were never recovered and identified. Yet, despite these unavoidable gaps in the record, it was possible to gather and identify the principal wild food staples of these two Apache tribes and to offer a fair sampling of that aspect of their food economy which is based on wild plants.

Lists, whether they be of plants or other culture traits, and descriptions of one aspect of a culture only, are often very misleading. It is necessary to know something about other aspects of the culture, that the place and importance of plant lore and plant utilization may be appreciated. It is with the purpose of placing the Mescalero and Chiricahua use of plants for foods, drinks, and narcotics in context and in relation to the cultural whole that this sketch of Apache life is offered.

LINGUISTIC AND ETHNIC AFFILIATIONS

The Mescalero and Chiricahua Apache speak languages of the Athabaskan stock, one of the most widespread linguistic families of North America, whose representatives range from Alaska to the American Southwest. Athabaskan languages have been separated into three major linguistic groups, a Northern, a Pacific, and a Southern. The tribes which constitute the Southern Athabaskan division are the Navaho and Apache. Thus our Mescalero and Chiricahua Apache are most closely affiliated linguistically with the Jicarilla Apache, the Lipan Apache, the Kiowa Apache,[2] the

2. Because of their Plains-like material culture and their close association with the Kiowa Indians of the Plains, the Kiowa Apache have hitherto been treated apart from other Southern Athabaskan-speaking peoples. A tale, for which there is little substantiation, of a former home of these people in the Black Hills of South Dakota and of a close linguistic association between them and the Sarsi has been preserved in American anthropology since the days of Mooney. Recent linguistic work by Dr. Harry Hoijer, of the University of Chicago, has definitely established Kiowa Apache as a Southern Athabaskan language. A study of Kiowa social organization by Dr. J. G. McAllister (Doctoral Thesis, University of Chicago, 1938) gives evidence of a kinship system and social forms almost identical with those of the Jicarilla and Lipan Apache. See Opler (21).

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934)1936
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252 writing of Apaches in the vicinity of the Guadalupe moun-
262 tains, made the following comment in the year 1849 concerning the preparation of mescal: " . . . we have this evening for the first time seen the Maguey plant which constitutes almost the only vegetable food that the Apaches and southern Comanches get for a great portion of the year. They prepare it by boiling it until it is soft, then mash it into a paste, and I am told that in this form it makes a very palatable, nutritious food." In view of the fact that no record has been encountered elsewhere of mescal having been pre-
[114] pared by boiling, and present day Indians have no knowledge of such preparation, it is possible that Marcy had some other plant in mind.

[137] Another well known desert plant, sotol *(Dasylirion wheeleri)* was utilized in much the same way as mescal. The crowns were gathered when the flowers were beginning to emerge, prepared in the same way as was mescal and
[251] baked for the same length of time. When baked they were removed from the pit, stripped, pounded to a pulp on a rock, and spread out to dry on "mescal cradles." The product was usually saved for winter, when it was eaten like a cake. Sotol crowns were not so desirable for food as those of mescal since they are rather hard and woody, only the youngest and most tender portions being edible.

[137] Occasionally the emerging sotol flower stalks, as well as those of bear grass *(Nolina microcarpa)*, mescal *(Agave parryi)*, and amole *(Yucca glauca)*, were removed, placed on a bed of embers and roasted for about fifteen minutes, after which the outer charred portion was stripped off. The central edible portion was white, soft, sweet, and quite palatable and was regarded as the most delicious portion of the plant. These stalks might also be boiled or eaten raw. Just as the stalk came into bloom it was removed from the plant, peeled, cut into pieces and boiled. It was then dried and stored to be used as a vegetable.

[137] Still another characteristic plant of portions of the American Southwest is the narrow-leaved soapweed or palmilla *(Yucca elata)*. The crowns of this species were gath-

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934)1936
NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
CHIRICAHUA
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mony *(6:*296) reported the use of sunflower seeds among the Apache who ground them on a metate and made the resulting flour into cakes; Bourke *(2:*47) referred to the Apache and other Indian groups as having cultivated the sunflowers about 1870, the seeds of which were ground with corn into meal and made into cakes. Bourke's information that the Mescalero and Chiricahua Apache cultivated the sunflower is probably erroneous for these Indians are not known to have ever cultivated this plant. A jam made from the fruits of the three-leaved sumac *(Rhus trilobata)* was formerly extensively eaten with bread made from sunflower seeds. This jam is no longer in common use.

Seeds of other plants ground to make bread were notably false flax *(Camelina microcarpa)*, tansy mustard *(Sophia incisa)*, and the thistle *(Cirsium pallidum)*, none of which, however, were utilized extensively. The plants were threshed mechanically—false flax and thistle by shaking vigorously in the sack in which they were collected, tansy mustard by beating the pods with sticks. They were then winnowed, formerly in a hide because the seeds, especially those of false flax, would go through a burden basket, although a *tsa* (shallow basket) could be used. The flour from these species of seeds was made into dough and baked or the seeds might simply be boiled and eaten as were sunflower seeds.

The ripe pods of the vetch, *Vicia melilotoides*, as well as the wild pea, *Lathyrus leucanthus*, were cooked and eaten, or they might be dried and stored, to be soaked and boiled later.

BEVERAGES AND NARCOTICS

The most common and important drink among the Mescalero and Chiricahua Apache was *tulbai* (an Apache term meaning "water, grey" from the Apache *tu*—"water" and *bai* from *tibai*—"grey") One occasionally reads about the Apache using *tiswin*, also *twilt-kah-yee*. Cremony *(6:*245) wrote of an intoxicating beverage by the latter name, distributed freely by the Apache at their puberty

4:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1947
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PRIMITIVE MAN

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NOTES ON CHIRICAHUA APACHE CULTURE

I. SUPERNATURAL POWER AND THE SHAMAN[1]

MORRIS EDWARD OPLER
Harvard University

THE basic concept of Chiricahua religion is that of diffuse supernatural power. This force floods the universe and renders even ostensibly inanimate objects potentially animate. However, in order to become effective, it must "work through" humankind. Its method is to utilize the animals, plants, natural forces, and inanimate objects familiar to the Chiricahua, as channels by means of which to get in contact with man. After this contact has been made, the power appears in personified guise and offers a ceremony or supernatural aid to the person approached. The variety of channels through which supernatural power can "speak" to the Chiricahua is suggested in these quotations from informants:

[1] These notes are an organization of source material which limitations of space made it impossible to include in the writer's Chiricahua ethnology, *An Apache Life-Way*, Chicago, 1941. It is hoped that they will add detail, nuance, and example to the data of that volume. While this article and others to follow in this series are written to be read as separate contributions, for the benefit of students of the Indians of the Southwest or those who wish to find additional material relating to the same general topics, cross-references to pages of the *Life-Way* on which comparable information appears are given in parentheses at the conclusion of a discussion of a point.